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THE OSNABRÜCK MEMORANDUM

**The responsibility for the
"One World"
forces us to act in our own interest**



The economic, social and ecological problems due the North-South-conflict are growing in the North and in the South from year to year. More than one billion people in the South live below the minimum living standards. These are the people who are most affected by hunger, the spread of epidemic diseases, natural catastrophes and wars. Over many years the North has, in its own interest, expanded its influence in the South. The industrial nations are feeling the consequences of this expansion more clearly than ever before. Wars in the South made possible by export of weapons from the North, environmental destruction of the North and the South, which has been caused by the industrial system of the North, the increasing gap in living standards between the North and the South which is partly result of the exploitation of the South by the North are now the main causes for the increasing migration from South to North which is being seen as a threat to the North.

Millions of people have no alternative but to escape from these intolerable conditions, which means bearing and accepting the difficulties of migration while at the same time risking the humiliation of their dignity and an uncertain future. This social structure which is made up of systems of inequality appears to be falling apart: The results of this inevitable instability of "one world with two life styles" is also increasingly being felt in the rich North. Poverty does not need a passport in order to cross international boundaries as a "migrant". The problems in the South and the North caused by the worldwide migration can neither be solved by the restriction or abolition of fundamental rights nor by a controlled immigration policy. The pulling down of the wall in the middle of Europe was a historical victory against dictatorship and tutelage. This wall should not be replaced by a fortification of the whole of Europe and the democratic achievements should not be given up. The acute and to a certain extent dramatic problems of the South are no longer problems of this region alone. But just as the environmental destruction which goes beyond national borders they concern the whole of humanity.

The system of a centralised planned economy failed not only because of the lack of democratic control but also because of the current economical and ecological challenges. However, we doubt whether the real existing market economy is a lasting alternative means to overcome the global environmental and North-South problems. In any case it is just this economic system which has created an industrial and consumption model which has led to global environmental destructions like the greenhouse effect, the reduction of the ozone layer, the decrease in the number of species, the dramatic worldwide reduction of forests, the exhaustion of natural resources, the removal of original inhabitants from their environment and the destruction of their culture as well as the increasing pollution of the sea. The industrial nations of the North with one fifth of the world population consume about four fifths of the resources. At the same time they cause two thirds of the greenhouse gas and the exhaust gas that causes acid rain; they produce 100 % of the gas that is dangerous for the ozone layer and produce the biggest quantity of the worldwide poisonous and nuclear waste. This growth and consumption system has reached its limits within the one fifth of the world's population in the North. Because of this it cannot be transferred to the South which has four-fifths of the population. The Western growth model leads to a dead end. It is only far-reaching reforms of our industrial and consumption model together with a change in our value systems which can stop this development in the future. Without exaggerating: we are at a historical turning-point. The important topic today, after the end of the confrontation

between communism and capitalism, is the survival of humanity. Whoever ignores the dramatic situation of the present worldwide challenges, either does not fulfil his political and ethical responsibilities or consciously risks ecological and social catastrophes not only in the South but also in the North.

Sustainable Development

The process of attaining an economically, ecologically, socially, culturally and politically sustainable development has to start both in the South and in the North. The North is mainly responsible for the global environmental destruction and wastage of resources. It must therefore carry the main burden for the urgently necessary global changes. Indeed during the first UN-Conference on Environment and Development, the representatives of the South rightly drew the attention of the delegates to this fact. The North lives at the expense of the South and future generations at the cost of exhaustible resources of our planet. The industries and agriculture of the North are harming the environment to an almost irreversible form. By living on the profits instead of the substance, the industrial and consumption model of the North violates in an undisguised manner the rationality principle of economics. Sustainable development requires that the growing poverty in the Third World has to be stopped and its causes have to be removed. There is an insoluble linkage between surplus production and wastage of resources on the one hand, and social marginalization and environmental destruction on the other hand.

The pre-condition for the attainment of sustainable development is that all environmental costs have to be internalised, the consumption of exhaustible natural resources and energy has to be drastically slowed down and the use of renewable resources has to be expanded. But in doing so, the ecological transformation of the North should obviously neither directly nor in a camouflaged way be achieved at the cost of the South. However, we are of the opinion, that in the interest of the people in the North and the South and in the interest of future generations, it is inevitable that the level of the global use of natural resources and the emission of waste gas has to be fixed. Besides there has to be an international arrangement to ensure that this limited volume of used resources and waste gas is fairly distributed. This necessary global consensus underlines the urgency of accepting the United Nations as a regulating body, the democratisation of its structure, and the equality of all member states - conditions which have become an imperative for the ecological survival of humankind. The industrial countries have to restructure their economies. It is only then that they can acquire the moral legitimation and trust in order to meet the challenges of an ecologically and socially longlasting development strategy in the South. It is very arrogant of us, when we demand that the countries of the South should protect "our" rain forests, while at the same time, when many people in the North have bought their first car, it is almost normal to aim at getting a second and third car.

The Relative Overpopulation of the South

in many countries in the South is a serious problem which should not be underestimated. It does not only increase poverty and the overexploitation of nature, but it also blocks the way to sustainable development. Nevertheless, overpopulation can in principle be

restrained through a socially fairer income distribution and sensible population policies and measures, as long as the economic situation and educational standards of women are effectively improved and women can decisively participate in the determination of family and population policies. The exaggeration of the so-called population explosion often diverts public discussion from the fact that it is not the high population rate in the Southern hemisphere which is responsible for the destruction of the planet, but rather the expanding growth in level of consumption in the North.

Involuntary Development Aid of the South to the North

has to be stopped. According to UNDP the South presently transfers about 500 billion US \$ every year to the North, particularly as a result of unequal partnership, limited trade possibilities on the world market and payment of interests on loans. In relation to this, the whole volume of official development aid of 50 billion US \$ from the North to the South is meaningless. Thus, the South is not a receiver but rather an important donor in the world economy. The transferred 500 billion US \$ is only 3 % of the total gross national product (GNP) of the North. This fact and thanks to their own economic power, the countries of the North can dispense with these involuntarily transferred resources without dramatic effects. In contrast, this sum which makes up about 15 % of the total GNP of the South is an important source of finance for sustainable development in the South. Therefore, it is most urgent that the transfer of resources from the South to the North is stopped and that a far-reaching cancellation of debts is carried out instead of pretentious debates about negligible increases of development aid. In order to achieve this, the North must be prepared to give up its privileges in the world economic relations and to create a framework for a partnership relation in which goods, services, information, scientific knowledge and experience in all areas can be exchanged:

- * The industrial nations of the North, especially the EEC, have to overcome their protectionism against goods and services from the South and to promote a free entry into their market. It is arrogant and unacceptable to demand structure adjustment of the South to the conditions of the world market (e. g. reduction of trade barriers, convertibility of currencies, free entry for goods and capital from the North), although the North itself follows exactly the opposite policy of protecting its own agricultural market.

- * The industrial nations of the North have to avoid measures which lead to the over-supply of raw materials from the South. Permanent overproduction is on the one hand the main cause for the dumping prices of raw materials and the decreasing earnings of the South and for the consumption wastage of the North. On the other hand it encourages the exploitation of exhaustible resources and cultivatable land and in the end leads to more economic inequalities and puts a great burden on the environment. Thus continual overproduction diametrically contradicts the necessary conditions for a strategy for sustainable development. Turning away from this absurd reality presupposes that the direct and indirect subvention of the export promotion of mineral raw materials, energy and agricultural raw materials both in the North and the South has to be discontinued. Also the International Monetary Fund (IMF) must abandon its policies of export promotion, with which it forces the producing countries of the raw materials in the South to adopt under the pretext of "Structural Adjustment". The industrial nations and the World Bank must be prepared to decrease their pressure on the South to over-

produce and to promote exports through responsible loan policies and cancellation of debts. The burdens caused by indebtedness have become a risk for the survival of the countries of the South. On the one hand they lead to the cancellation of viable projects, social political programs, urgent environmental measures while on the other hand they reinforce the overutilization of nature and in the end lead to social conflicts as well as mass migration. And because of these reasons the North owes the South a comprehensive cancellation of debts.

* But partnership between the North and the South in the world economic relations is unthinkable without a basic change in the policies of international institutions like the World Bank, IMF and GATT. Through their present policies, these institutions consolidate the asymmetrical trade structures, sanction the privileges of industrial nations and hinder equal chances in trade. Essentially, this kind of trade means much more than free quotations at stock exchanges and share markets. The weight of the South in international institutions should be strengthened in such a way that for instance the IMF and the World Bank cannot only force the states of the South but also the industrial nations of the North to adopt economic adjustment and create the conditions for free trade by applying credit policy measures. These institutions should no longer be misused by the North for their own enrichment. It is only in this way that these institutions could gain trust and acceptance by the South. That is why the structure adjustment policy of the IMF and the World Bank in the South has to be reformulated. It has to take into consideration the particularities of each state and has to be socially balanced. And in particular it has to take full account of the criteria for the sustainable development strategy. In order to implement the necessary reforms which can promote equal partnership in the world economy, the one-sided institutions which serve the interests of the North have to be abolished and UNCTAD and UNCED have to be strengthened and democratised.

The exchange of stable ecological and economical relations between the regions of this earth is only possible if people are able to utilize those natural resources which are regionally available and if their development is based on their own material and intellectual potential and cultural values. Steps must be taken to ensure that the exchange of goods, technology, knowledge and ideas - which is in any case necessary - between the regions does not lead to more inequalities. This exchanging and this balancing should form complementary principles of multiple regional relations for "One World". In order to achieve this aim it is imperative for a democratic, ecological and social world to be globally and regionally regulated.

North-South-Development Cooperation

will in the short run not be superfluous even within an economy based on equal partnership. There are various reasons why many states in the South will not be in a position to fight poverty and to protect the environment on their own, e. g. lack of technology, disadvantages caused by certain environmental conditions, location and civil wars. In this connection, bilateral and multilateral development cooperation can play an important role. However, the precondition for this is that development aid should no longer be used as an instrument for competition among social and political systems and for geopolitical influence. After the end of the East-West block confrontation, the

chances for the elimination of political conditionalities are indeed greater than ever before. The industrial nations - in their own interest - must be prepared to stop using development cooperation for the short time interests of the donor and for the economic growth-oriented interests of the recipient. Development and environmental policies have to receive greater attention in all political aspects. The effects of external economic relations with the states in the South must be measured in terms of their ecological and social sustainability. Governments should be obliged to report to their parliaments regularly. It is unacceptable that the Minister of Agriculture causes a lot of harm to millions of farmers in the South because of his EEC agricultural policies while at the same time the Minister for Development Cooperation plays the alibi role by supporting small peasant projects in order to retribute part of these damages. Development cooperation should not be reduced to monetary relations. It should also not be understood in terms of a recipient-mentality which blocks all possibilities of self-initiative and self-mobilisation of resources of the countries in the South. The recipient-mentality contradicts all forms of sustainable development strategies. The promotion of self-initiative and tapping of potentiality is the social basis for sustainable development as well as a permanent regeneration of nature which is the ecological precondition for sustainable development. In addition development cooperation should be debureaucratized and democratized. And to achieve this it is imperative that those organisations which are responsible for development aid expand the grassroot institutions and initiatives in the federal states and local governments. Town-twinning and partnership between educational institutions, social and cultural projects on a local basis with their counterparts in the South should be strengthened and promoted so that they can become an integral part of development cooperation. It is only through this direct and close contact between people from the North and the South and, through exchange of experiences that prejudices can be reduced and the consciousness and responsibility for a "One World" based on a sustainable basis can be achieved and strengthened. In this process of restructuring the policies and strategies of development cooperation, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) should be given the opportunity to participate in the decision-making process.

Peace, Democracy, Justice, Environment and Development

must be the corner stones for a new world order. Peace is the precondition for active environmental protection, fighting poverty, sustainable development, respect of human rights and democratisation of the relations. War is a hindrance to positive changes and destroys the basis of living in a society with human dignity for the present and future generations.

Wars are caused by different reasons - ethnical conflicts, nationalism, scarcity of resources, border conflicts - which are partly a result of historical facts - and cannot be solved within a short period of time. These factors can, but must not necessarily, lead to wars. It is the accumulation of weapons which makes these conflicts explosive. The wars in former Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Somalia, Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique, in the Middle East and the Orient are an evidence for this. These wars occurred and occur primarily not because of ethnical conflicts, ideologies or border conflicts but because of the accumulation of weapons in these countries which is a result of a form of inter-

national alliance between East and West in the export of arms which aimed at encouraging internal and national conflicts and supporting the corrupt elite in the South. The industrial nations have to end their export of weapons to the South and they should also make a positive contribution in stopping the South-South arms exports. At the moment it is more urgent than ever before to disarm, drastically reduce the production of weapons and all material which can lead to mass destruction. The peaceful positive results of the end of the East-West confrontation must be utilized for the attainment of sustainable development.

Military intervention is an ineffective means of ending war and ensuring lasting peace. Massive violations of human rights and international law as well as civil wars should be stopped by comprehensive and effective sanctions without the application of force. Long-term economical, social-psychological and ecological damages caused by military intervention against certain states at the risk of lives of human beings - as was the case during the Gulf War - are evidence of the futility of reaching certain goals by military intervention. It is easier to set up and implement effective sanctions, and if these sanctions are violated, it is easier to punish those who violate them than to go to war. It is morally and ethically wrong to use force against other states in order to force them to reform their social and normative systems.

Each country in the North has its own "Third World" which among others consists of the unemployed, people without houses and drug addicts. In the same way each country in the South has its own "First World" which consists of the rich with all the comforts of a modern elite. The best way which can enable the elite in the South to formulate and implement reforms which are long overdue and which can bring about social justice is to increase social justice in the North and to reduce the growing poverty in the North itself. This is in the interest of peace and stability and will prevent dangerous racist political attitudes that mobilise people against democracy. This is one of our most important duties and responsibilities. There is no alternative to an equal partnership between different cultures living in one nation. By ensuring the continuity of the achieved democracy, the reduction of arbitrary power and potential violence, the overcoming of the patriarch as well as the creation of equal rights for minorities, the industrial countries in the North can most effectively support the democratisation process in the South. At the same time they have to respect the cultural and normative values of other peoples. Conditions for development aid which are meant to implement internationally recognised basic rights such as individual human rights can in the short run be acceptable. They are however not the necessary means for a lasting democratisation and can in fact be used as a camouflage for other intentions. In the long run it will only be possible to achieve universally accepted norms and values if there is cultural exchange between different peoples. A permanent political consensus between different peoples is also a self-sustaining basis for a universal institution of a world community - which has yet to be achieved - and which has the necessary confidence, authority and legitimation in order to regulate the way people live in a peaceful world and which can meet the present global and social challenges and formulate solutions as well as taking into account the interests of the future generations.

Academics and Officials

who are involved in development cooperation should just like the political decision makers, undertake the responsibility to change and reform the existing North-South relations. And in doing so, they should not only use their accumulated knowledge, but also through action based on the principles which have been laid down in this manifesto.

Academics in various disciplines should accept the fact that the present problems which are manifested through social, economical, ecological, cultural and political dimensions, can only be dealt with by applying interdisciplinary academic cooperation. This means that it is imperative that those institutions where interdisciplinary research and teaching exists must be strengthened. And where such academic cooperation does not exist steps must be taken to initiate it. Academics in the North should use their technical and financial possibilities to promote researchers from the South and to encourage North-South academic exchange among researchers and students. At the same time the results of research carried out in the South by academics from the North should be used to deal with and not to maintain social and economic inequalities between the North and South.

Academics must be prepared more than ever before to take into account and utilise the experiences of those who are practically involved in Development Cooperation. But at the same time this concrete experience should not be used as a means of confrontation between the academics and development aid activists. A firm and strong "bridge" should be built to form a longlasting relationship between academic research and practical experience. Isolated actions and reactions are ineffective. Academics and those who are practically involved in the implementation of development policies have to join hands in order to articulate to the people and politicians the implication of the inevitable changes in the world order. They have to critically and continually examine development policies in a constructive manner, so that they can effectively present their views on the basic and important issues on development policy.

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